INDIAN SPORTS NICKNAMES/LOGOS: AFFECTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AMERICAN INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Abstract: The use of American Indian (AI) words and images in athletic teams' nicknames, logos, and mascots remains a controversial issue. This study investigated the emotional impact of the University of North Dakota's "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo on 33 AI and 36 majority culture (MC) students enrolled at the university. Participants completed the Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist-Revised (MAACL-R) before viewing two slide presentations of Fighting Sioux-related images: one neutral (i.e., non-controversial) and one controversial. Participants completed the MAACL-R after each presentation. They also completed the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale, and AI participants completed the Northern Plains Biculturalism Inventory to assess their degree of cultural orientation. Results showed that AIs experienced higher negative affect following both slide presentations than did MC participants. MC participants' affect was only changed following the controversial slide presentation. The findings suggest AI students may experience significantly higher levels of psychological distress when viewing even neutral images of AI nicknames/logos.

Indigenous people have lived in North America for more than 15,000 years, developing cultures and lifestyles as diverse as those of their non-Indian counterparts in other regions of the world. In 1492, Columbus arrived in the Caribbean Islands believing he had landed in India and thus named the Indigenous inhabitants "Indians" (Edwards & Smith, 1979). The name was applied to the majority of Indigenous people of North America, even though hundreds of distinctive cultures were flourishing at the time of the first Europeans' arrival (Broken Nose, 1992).

First impressions of early Europeans regarding the Indigenous peoples of North America were usually negative. Indigenous people were viewed as uncivilized, savage, filthy, and hostile (Trimble, 1988). Unfortunately, many of these depictions of American Indians (AIs) persist. AIs are

commonly seen as incompetent, backwards, and incapable of managing their own affairs (Trimble, 1988). Other stereotypes depict AIs as bloodthirsty savages, untamed, warlike, and aggressive (Churchill, Hill, & Hill, 1978; McDonald & Chaney, 2004). These perceptions influenced the formation of Federal policies towards AIs that served as a nurturing ground for racism.

The word "Indian" triggers an array of images in different people. To some, the word provokes the image of a warrior dressed in Native regalia ready for battle, or of a docile, stoic "noble savage" who is wise and one with nature (Broken Nose, 1992; McDonald & Chaney, 2004). Unfortunately, many majority culture members tend to over-sensationalize their image of the AI of the past and ignore the real AI of the present and future. This attitude is most often reflected in the names of professional, college, and high school athletic teams. Staurowsky (2007) suggested Native nicknames, logos, and mascots appropriated by athletic teams unfortunately portray AIs as caricatures rather than real people. These images are often biased and distorted, and they misrepresent reality (McDonald & Chaney, 2004; Staurowsky, 2007). Inaccurate images also are derived from literature, history books, television, and Hollywood movies. AIs are typically portrayed generically, with no attempt to identify individual tribes or diversity across tribes. Even the regalia associated with AI mascots is generic and not representative of the tribe which the mascot supposedly represents.

Inaccuracies and stereotypes stemming from these depictions cause many modern AIs (and some non-Indians) to find AI nicknames, logos, and mascots offensive and dehumanizing. These claims are supported by the finding that many AI students attending schools and universities outside Indian communities are often subjected to racial slurs and attacks (Hansen & Rouse, 1987). Thus, there is a genuine possibility that efforts intended by the majority culture to promote a unified identity (i.e., through use of a nickname, logo, or mascot) are, in fact, producing the opposite effect for those whose heritage is supposedly represented.

A struggle exists between AIs and athletic teams (fans included) over the use of AIs as sport symbols. Many teams and fans justify the use of AI nicknames, logos, and mascots by proclaiming that this use brings tradition and honor to AIs, and believe that AIs should be honored by it (Davis, 1993). The issue is not a small one. Although "Eagles," "Tigers," and "Cougars" are the most popular, "Warriors" and "Indians" are also among the top 10 most popular nicknames for athletic teams (Nuessal, 1994). Other examples of frequently used names for athletic teams in the U.S. include "Redmen," "Savages," "Braves," and "Chiefs" (Nuessal, 1994). Nicknames for both collegiate and professional sports teams also refer to whole Indian nations, such as the Illini, Chippewas, Black Hawks, Sioux, and Hurons (Nuessal, 1994).

Nonverbal behavior is another nuance that arises from the use of AI nicknames, logos, and mascots. A prime example is the "tomahawk chop" used by fans of such teams as Major League Baseball's Atlanta Braves (Nuessal, 1994). Other such behaviors are the utilization by fans of

plastic tomahawks, turkey feather headdresses, and face paint (Nuessal, 1994), which can still be observed at both professional and collegiate sporting events. Many AIs find these behaviors degrading because they depict a "cartoon-like" view of a real people, poke fun at their lifestyle and culture, and use ceremonial objects that AI tribes consider sacred in a disrespectful way. It may be that AIs hold this vview because members of the majority culture engage in these behaviors but do not acknowledge or attempt to understand key aspects of AI cultures. (e.g., see Tafoya, 1989).

Many mental health organizations have supported the elimination of AI nicknames, logos, and mascots. The Society of Indian Psychologists (SIP, 1999) expressed its concern with the use of AIs as mascots and released a statement in support of discontinuing the use of such mascots due to the adverse effects AIs have experienced. SIP also compiled a list of psychological considerations that need to be examined in relation to the use of AI mascots (e.g., working to improve the welfare of all people when working in a cultural setting). Professional organizations such as the National Indian Education Association, National Congress of AIs, NAACP, and the NCAA have also passed resolutions in support of eliminating AI nicknames, logos, and mascots (Pewewardy, 2002).

Despite these efforts, there is a paucity of research examining the use of AI nicknames, logos, and mascots, especially as it pertains to the AI educational experience. The clash of cultures has been noted to produce a unique sort of stress—acculturative stress—that is accompanied by physiological discomfort as an individual moves across cultures (Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995). This discomfort may manifest itself in a variety of psychological, as well as physical, problems for AI students.

The present study focused on the nickname/logo "Fighting Sioux" used by the University of North Dakota (UND). UND changed its nickname/logo to the Fighting Sioux in 1930, apparently because its previous nickname (the "Flickertails") did not inflict any fear into opponents at sporting events. Little attention was given to the university's nickname/logo until the early 1970s, when questions about its appropriateness began to be raised by students and others. Those questions are still being raised today.

LaRocque (2001) conducted a study examining the differences between AI and non-Indian college students' attitudes, beliefs, and reactions related to the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo at UND. Results showed that AI students and non-Indian students viewed the issue quite differently. AI respondents tended to view the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo as not honoring UND or the Sioux people. Further, they responded that the nickname was used in a disrespectful manner, that it should be changed if it offends some AIs, and that UND should abide by Sioux tribal councils' requests and change it. Such views were associated with degree of acculturation: Traditional AI participants, as measured by the Northern Plains Bicultural Inventory (NPBI; Allen & French, 1994) overwhelmingly supported changing the nickname/logo, whereas assimilated AIs did not oppose it as

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strongly. Importantly, AI respondents also reported feeling that their personal safety was threatened, that they experienced discrimination, and that they experiencing high levels of stress and tension because of the nickname/logo. Non-Indians, on the other hand, supported the continued use of Fighting Sioux nickname/logo and did not report negative experiences due to its use.

Jollie-Trottier (2002) examined differences in level of fan identification and motivation in UND students. Caucasian participants highly identified with the Fighting Sioux nickname and were more likely than AI participants to attend sporting events, especially hockey games. AI participants, on the other hand, tended to not identify with the nickname and were not likely to attend sporting events. Many of the AI students reported that they were fans, but did not attend games because of the nickname/logo. Consistent with the findings of LaRocque (2001), non-Indian respondents supported the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo, whereas AI participants favored eliminating their use.

The present study was another attempt to bring clarity to the complex issue of using AI nicknames and logos. Whereas previous studies had largely focused on participants' views of AI nickname/logo use, the main focus of the present study was to examine the psychological effects of the UND Fighting Sioux nickname/logo on AI and majority culture (MC) students at UND. AI and MC students watched "neutral" and "controversial" slide presentations depicting images of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. We hypothesized that AIs would have more negative affect than MC participants as a result of viewing neutral images of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo, but that MC participants would experience more negative affect than AI participants as a result of viewing the controversial images of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. Further, when measuring psychological distress, we predicted AI participants would display higher scores of distress than MC participants.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 33 AI (18 female, 15 male) and 36 MC (19 female, 17 male) UND students. Participants represented a convenience sample (i.e., no overt attempts were made to match AI and MC participants based on certain demographic variables); they received extra course credit or \$5, if they were not enrolled in a psychology course, for their participation.

Materials

Participants completed a packet of paper-and-pencil measures that consisted of an informed consent form, a brief demographic questionnaire, 3 subscales of the Multiple Affect Adjective

Checklist-Revised (MAACL-R; Lubin, Van Whitlock, & Zuckerman, 1998), and the Nickname and Logo Distress Scale (NLDS). All participants also completed the NPBI (Allen & French, 1994).

The informed consent form described the study, including its risks and benefits, as approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of North Dakota. The demographic form asked participants their gender, age, year in college, number of years attending UND, and ethnicity. AI participants were also asked to provide their tribal affiliation.

The MAACL-R is a versatile, reliable, and valid instrument (Lubin & Zuckerman, 1999) that measures both affect states and traits. The 66 adjectives measure affect on three levels: 1) factored domains of anxiety, depression, hostility, positive affect, and sensation seeking; 2) higher-order affects, dysphoria (sum of anxiety, depression, and hostility) and well-being (positive affect plus sensation seeking; PASS); and 3) the 12 components or facets of the domains resulting from principal components analyses. The first and second measurement levels of the MAACL-R were utilized in this study. In addition to measuring negative affect, the MAACL-R also includes two measurements of positive affect states; the Positive Affect scale measures the more passive aspects of positive affect and the Sensation Seeking scale measures the more active, energetic aspects of positive affect. There are two versions of the MAACL-R: the State version and the Trait version. The purpose of the current study was to examine change in affect after viewing two different slide shows, so the State version of the MAACL-R was used.

The NLDS was developed for the present study. It is a six-item, self-report questionnaire that asks questions about psychological distress an individual may have experienced while attending UND, due to the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy. Each question is rated on a 4-point scale, with potential scores range from 6 to 24, with higher scores representing more distress. The NLDS can be found in its entirety in Appendix A.

The NPBI is a 30-item survey developed based on the Orthogonal Theory of Biculturalism (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). It assesses cultural competence along two distinct cultural dimensions: American Indian Cultural Identification (AICI) and European American Cultural Identification (EACI). Respondents scoring high on both subscales are considered Bicultural, those scoring high on AICI but low on EACI are considered Traditional, those scoring low on both subscales are considered Marginal, and those scoring high on EACI and low AICI individuals are considered Assimilated.

Procedure

A focus group consisting of 10 AI and 10 MC students viewed 42 images related to the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. The focus group participants were asked to rate each image using a Likert-type scale of 1 (very neutral) to 4 (very controversial). Images rated as more controversial

(i.e., above 2.5) were put into the controversial slide show, and those rated more neutral (below 2.5) were put in the neutral slide show (see Figure 1). A total of 38 images were used, 19 per slide show. Examples can be found in Appendix B. Four of the images were not used because the mean rating of those images by the focus group participants was exactly 2.5. Participants in the focus groups did not participate in the study proper.

Student participants initially were solicited from psychology classes. This solicitation yielded primarily MC participants, so the researchers attempted to recruit AI participants by advertising the study at the AI center on campus.

Each participant viewed the images and completed the surveys individually. After obtaining informed consent, the researcher had the participant complete the demographic questionnaire. If the participant was AI, s/he then completed the NPBI. Next, the participant completed the first MAACL-R State version in order to establish a baseline emotional state. The participant then viewed the two slide shows that presented different images of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. The slide shows were presented using Microsoft PowerPoint and were projected onto a large screen on a wall. Each image was shown for approximately 25 s. Thus, each slide show lasted approximately 5.25 min. The order of the slide shows was systematically counterbalanced, with some participants viewing the neutral presentation first and others viewing the controversial presentation first. Each participant saw the same images within each slide show in the same order. After viewing each slide show, the participant was instructed to fill out the three MAACL-R subscales. Once the last MAACL-R was completed, the participant completed the NLDS. She was then debriefed about the procedure and the hypotheses, compensated, and dismissed. Importantly, this process expressly addressed the potential psychological effect the procedure may have produced. Each participant was also provided with a copy of the informed consent form, which contained information as to how and where participants could seek psychological services as a potential outcome of their participation. No participants sought services at those sources as an outcome of their participation.

RESULTS

The mean age of the AI participants was 25.75 years (SD = 5.89 years). Of the 33 AI participants, 20 self-identified as Chippewa, 4 as Lakota, 2 as Dakota, and 3 as Three Affiliated Tribes. The remaining 4 AI participants each listed some other tribal affiliation. The mean number of years the AI participants reported having attended UND was 2.67 (SD = 1.51). Twenty-seven of the 33 AI participants were undergraduate students, whereas 6 were graduate students. The mean age of the MC participants was 21.52 years (SD = 5.87 years). The mean number of years they reported having attended UND was 1.92 (SD = 1.65). All MC participants were undergraduate students.

Pearson product-moment correlations revealed statistically significant relationships between several demographic variables and the NLDS. Total scores on the NLDS were positively correlated with age, year in college, and years attended UND (all rs > .37, all ps < .01). Results for these, and all following, analyses were considered significant at p < .05.

Table 1 presents the correlations observed between the NLDS and each of the other psychological measures at each point in the procedure. No significant correlations were observed between the NLDS and the other measures at baseline. However, with the exception of the PASS scores after the controversial slide show, NLDS scores were significantly correlated with each measure after each slide show.

Table 1
Pearson Bivariate Correlations between the NLDS
and Each Dependent Measure at Baseline, After the Neutral Slide Show, and After
the Controversial Slide Show

	Dysphoria	PASS	Anxiety	Depression	Hostility
Baseline					
NLDS	0.22	0.18	0.14	0.14	-0.15
Neutral					
NLDS	0.68**	0.53**	0.42**	0.57**	-0.65**
Controversial					
NLDS	0.43**	0.25	0.42**	0.29*	-0.54**

^{*} p < .05; ** p < .01

To test the hypotheses of the effects of the slide shows, separate two-way (Ethnicity by Time) mixed-model analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted on the different subscales of the MAACL-R. For the dysphoria composite scale, the main effect of ethnicity was significant, F(1, 67) = 14.16, p < .001, indicating that the AI participants scored higher on this scale than the MC participants. The main effect of time was significant, F(2, 134) = 53.68, p < .001, as was the ethnicity by time interaction, F(2, 134) = 6.83, p = .002. Pairwise comparisons revealed that scores from the AI and MC participants did not differ significantly at baseline, but that the AI participants had significantly higher scores after viewing the neutral and controversial slide shows. Table 2 displays the mean scores for each group at baseline, after the neutral slide show, and after the controversial slide show for this, and each remaining, measure.

The two-way (Ethnicity by Time) mixed-model ANOVA conducted on the PASS composite scale yielded a significant main effect of ethnicity, F(1, 67) = 14.61, p < .001, with MC participants scoring higher than AI participants on this measure. The main effect of time, F(2, 134) = 40.33,

p < .001, and the interaction term, F(2, 134) = 9.73, p < .001, were both significant. Pairwise comparisons revealed that AI and MC participant scores did not differ significantly at baseline or after the controversial slide show. However, AI participants scored significantly lower after the neutral slide show than did the MC participants.

Table 2
Mean (and Standard Deviation) for Each Group, and the Total Sample, for Each Scale

	Ethnic Group	Dysphoria	PASS	Anxiety	Depression	Hostility
Baseline	МС	43.41 (8.49)	51.00 (9.10)	44.41 (8.62)	45.38 (7.77)	47.16 (10.18)
	AI	47.36 (14.85)	51.48 (9.57)	45.84 (11.48)	48.48 (11.64)	49.39 (11.77)
	Total	45.30 (12.04)	51.23 (9.26)	45.10 (10.04)	46.86 (9.86)	48.23 (10.95)
Neutral	MC	47.61 (13.41)	48.97 (9.87)	45.08 (10.14)	46.61 (7.83)	54.80 (26.09)
	AI	67.48 (20.05)	36.54 (12.85)	51.30 (12.44)	63.12 (20.48)	81.24 (33.51)
	Total	57.11 (19.54)	43.02 (12.92)	48.05 (11.65)	54.50 (17.26)	67.44 (32.49)
Controversia	MC	67.19 (20.72)	42.30 (10.92)	47.77 (8.83)	51.05 (8.13)	95.58 (48.48)
	AI	77.90 (21.01)	31.48 (11.09)	48.66 (7.99)	64.18 (17.71)	111.09 (45.28)
	Total	72.31 (21.39)	37.13 (12.21)	48.20 (8.39)	57.33 (15.01)	103.00 (47.28)

The two-way (Ethnicity by Time) mixed-model ANOVA conducted on the anxiety subscale did not reveal a significant main effect of ethnicity, F(1, 67) = 2.51, p = .117. The main effect of time was significant, F(2, 134) = 3.13, p = .05, was significant, indicating that anxiety scores changed as a function of the slide shows. However, the interaction between ethnicity and time was not significant, F(2, 134) = 2.02, p = .141, indicating that the effect of the slide shows did not differ between the AI and MC participants in terms of anxiety subscale scores.

The two-way (Ethnicity by Time) mixed-model ANOVA conducted on the depression subscale yielded a significant main effect of ethnicity, F(1, 67) = 21.19, p < .001, with AI participants scoring higher on this measure than MC participants. The main effect of time was significant, F(2, 134) = 16.29, p < .001, as was the interaction, F(2, 134) = 6.38, p = .003. Pairwise comparisons revealed that mean scores did not differ between the AI and MC groups at baseline, but did differ significantly between groups after viewing each slide show, with AI participants scoring significantly higher than the MC participants.

The two-way (Ethnicity by Time) mixed-model ANOVA conducted on the hostility subscale yield a significant main effect of ethnicity, F(1, 67) = 6.61, p < .001, with the AI participants scoring

higher on this measure than the MC participants. The main effect of time, F(2, 134) = 44.84, p < .001, and the interaction, F(2, 134) = 6.20, p = .003, were both significant. Pairwise comparisons revealed that scores of AI and MC participants differed significantly after viewing the neutral slide show, but not at baseline or after viewing the controversial slide show.

Cultural identification, as measured by the NPBI, was determined by conducting a median split on the two subscales (i.e., European American Cultural Identification & American Indian Cultural Identification). This process led to the identification of 6 AI participants as Bicultural, 11 as Traditional, 10 as Assimilated, and 6 as Marginal. To test whether Traditional AI participants would differ from Assimilated AI participants (as measured by the NPBI), a series of two-way (Cultural identification by Time) mixed-model ANOVAs were conducted on the MAACL-R measures using NPBI category as the grouping variable. For the dysphoria subscale, the main effect of cultural identification was not significant, F(1, 19) = 1.27, p = .305. The main effect of time was significant, F(2, 38) = 24.00, p < .001, but the interaction between cultural identification and time was not, F(2, 38) < 1. For the PASS subscale, the main effect of cultural identification was not significant, F(1, 19) < 1. The main effect of time was significant, F(2, 38) = 28.96, p < .001, but the interaction was not, F(2, 38) = 1.19, p = .329. Thus, these measures did not vary as a function of cultural identification.

Scores on the NLDS from the AI and MC participants were compared using an independent-samples t-test. The scores differed significantly, t(67) = -5.95, p < .001, with AI participants scoring higher (15.00, SD = 5.60) than the MC participants (8.80, SD = 2.67). Traditional and Assimilated AI participants did not differ on their NLDS scores, t(19) = -2.01, p = .058; Traditional mean score = 19.20, SD = 4.61; Assimilated mean score = 14.72, SD = 5.46.

DISCUSSION

In general, the data derived from this study supported the hypothesis that AI participants would have higher negative affect than MC participants after viewing the neutral slide show. However, the results did not support the hypothesis that the MC participants would have higher negative affect than AI participants after viewing the controversial slide show. AI and MC participants displayed significantly different levels of negative affect viewing each slide show. They also differed in the levels of psychological distress associated with the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. We were interested to find that Traditional AIs and Assimilated Indians did not differ significantly in their affect after viewing the slide shows.

Year in college and years attending UND were positively related to scores on the NLDS, suggesting that distress from the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo might grow over time. However, when looking only at the scores of the AI participants, there were only two significant correlations

with an item on the NLDS and demographic factors. The item "To what extent have you experienced stress related to the 'Fighting Sioux' nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?" correlated with both age and years attending UND. This finding suggests that the stress levels of AI students that might grow over time.

Pearson product-moment correlations revealed potentially interesting relationships between scores on the subscales of the MAACL-R and scores on the NLDS. In short, scores on several of the MAACL-R subscales were positively correlated with the NLDS, suggesting that multiple factors could contribute to distress associated with the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. It is noteworthy that statistically significant relationships did not exist before the participants viewed the slide shows.

AI participants displayed more negative affect than MC participants after viewing neutral images of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo, indicating that even depictions of nicknames or logos or nicknames that are not generally considered controversial or racist may have a negative impact on AI students. This outcome accounted for the significant interactions that were observed in the analyses. The MC participants displayed an increase in negative affect only after viewing the controversial slide show, relative to baseline. However, AI participants displayed a significant increase in negative affect after both slide shows. Thus, the results suggest that potentially racist depictions of the nickname/logo may increase negative affect in all students, but AI students may be influenced merely by the nickname/logo's use in general. In short, "neutral" depictions of AI nicknames/logos may not be experienced neutrally by all people.

Although the findings suggest that AI participants experienced more negative affect while participating in the study than did the MC participants, it is important and interesting to note that AI participants generally had similar baseline scores as the MC participants on the MAACL-R subscales, and AIs' baseline scores for the PASS composite scale were actually slightly higher than the MCs' baseline scores. However, negative affect was influenced by the slide shows to a greater degree in the AI participants than in the MC participants. While it is beyond the scope of this study to suggest a definitive cause, it is possible that this finding is linked to AI students' experiences of discrimination, racism, or prejudice that affect their daily emotional state. As noted earlier, LaRocque (2001) found that AI students at UND had experienced discrimination, had greater levels of stress and tension, and felt that their personal safety was threatened. These results coincide with those of Zakhar (1987) and Huffman (1991), who noted that AI students at Midwestern universities often felt emotional turmoil caused by "being an outsider" and by discrimination and racism they may have experienced. Another suggestion is that AIs are at a higher risk for psychological instability due to historical trauma (Bryon, 1997; Lester, 1999; Walker, 2001). Future research would be necessary determine which, if any, of the above possibilities may be true. It would also be interesting to

determine whether, through their repeated exposure to depictions that produce negative affect, AIs have developed coping mechanisms that allow them to return quickly to affective levels similar to those expressed by MC participants.

Limitations

The results of this study represent a starting point and, for a number of reasons, cannot be generalized to other students on the UND campus or at other schools. First, the present study utilized a small sample and, although significant effects were found, including more participants would increase confidence in the generalizability of the results. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the present study employed a convenience sample. That is, MC participants took part in the study to earn extra credit in their psychology courses. AI participants had to be recruited from the AI center on campus. Thus, it is possible that the AIs who volunteered for the study already had strong feelings about the nickname/logo issue, which could have influenced the results. Recruitment materials were designed to be as neutral as possible to avoid this confound, but they did say that the research was on "...the 'Fighting Sioux Nickname and Logo' and the various ways it is presented on campus." Thus, this possibility cannot be ruled out. Also, the AI participants tended to be older than the MC participants and also tended to have been enrolled at UND longer than MC students. Given that NLDS scores were correlated with age, it is not known if the effect of the nickname/logo slide shows was more a function of age or ethnicity.

Unfortunately, the researchers conducting the present study were not able to recruit a large number of AI participants in each quadrant of the NPBI. Theoretically, one would predict that AIs with varying levels of acculturation would also vary in their responses to AI nicknames and logos. The area of cultural affiliation and how it affects AIs in general needs to be addressed further because there are very few published studies that have examined the topic. Because of the relatively small sample size employed in the study, and the small number of AI participants in each quadrant of the NPBI, the present results cannot be seen as definitive on the issue.

CONCLUSIONS

Many of the images used in the present study can be found around the UND campus on any given day. Although the present results cannot be generalized to all UND students, they do suggest that at least some students experience negative affect due to even neutral usage of the Fighting Sioux nickname/logo. Thus, it could be argued that the results support the elimination of the nickname/logo. Opponents of that view may, however, counter with the argument that the present study only employed neutral and controversial images; positive images, which may have actually decreased

negative affect, were not included. Future research should investigate this possibility, starting with a determination of whether such subjectively positive images can be identified (or whether all such images are, at best, neutral). With that said, the present results would suggest that "controversial" images have a detrimental impact on the affect of AI and MC students.

As AI nicknames and logos receive more research and political attention, it seems likely that their use will ultimately decrease. With such a decrease, however, a need for continued research in this area will remain. Because the general populace will continue to be exposed to depictions of AIs (e.g., in cartoons and movies) that are caricatures of the actual people they portray, it is important for the field to understand the psychological impact these depictions have on AIs and MCs alike. The study of cross-tribal differences in this particular pursuit might also generate fruitful results, as it may identify coping strategies that have been developed in different cultures and, thus, enhance our understanding of cultural differences across AI communities.

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Appendix A Nickname and Logo Distress Scale

The following questions ask you to describe your experience in relation to possible psychological distress regarding the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and issues at the University of North Dakota (UND). Please read each question carefully and circle the number that seems most accurate for you. Answer each question according to your experience since the time you first came to UND. Do not skip or leave any questions blank. Thank you for your participation.

1.	To what extent are yo controversy?	To what extent are you adversely affected by the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?							
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					
2.		To what extent have you experienced stress related to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?							
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					
3.	To what extent have you experienced symptoms of anxiety due to the "Fighting Sioux" nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?								
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					
4.	To what extent have you experienced symptoms of anger due to the "Fighting Sioux nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?								
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					
5.	To what extent have you experienced symptoms of depression due to the "Fighting Sioux nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy?								
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					
6.	To what extent has the "Fighting Sioux nickname/logo and its surrounding controversy had an effect on your ability to perform well in your coursework at UND?								
	1	2	3	4					
	Not at all	Mildly	Moderately	A great deal					

Appendix B Examples of Neutral and Controversial Slides

Examples of Neutral Slides







Examples of Controversial Slides





Both of these things are just like the other...



H-SIOUX-O is a brand of bottled water produced for, and sanctioned by the University of North Dakota